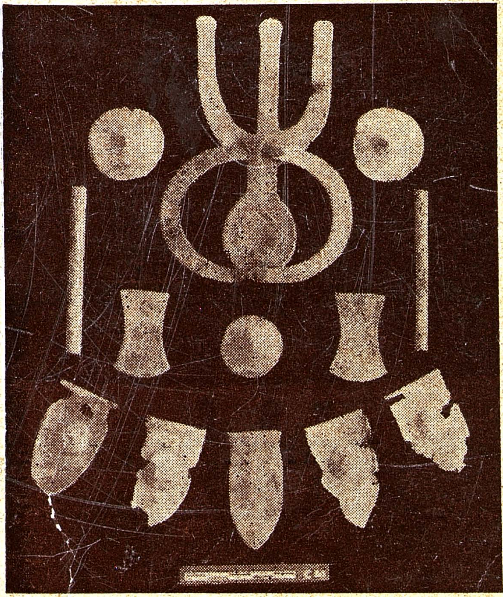
POST-CENTENARY SILVER JUBILEE YEAR—1982

# Recent Researches On the Chalcolithic And Megalithic Cultures Of The Deccan



S. B. DEO

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
1982

*The Madras University Archaeological Series No. 5*

GENERAL EDITOR

**K. V. RAMAN**

# RECENT RESEARCHES ON THE CHALCOLITHIC AND MEGALITHIC CULTURES OF THE DECCAN

**S. B. DEO**

**Director**

**Deccan College, Poona**

Professor T. BALAKRISHNA NAIR Memorial endowment
Lectures : 1

# RECENT RESEARCHES ON THE CHALCOLITHIC AND MEGALITHIC CULTURES OF THE DECCAN

S. B. DEO
*Director*
Deccan College, Poona.

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the first in the series of lectures delivered under the auspices of Prof. T. Balakrishna Nair Memorial Endowment Lectureship of the University of Madras. Prof. T. Balakrishna Nair was a well known educationist who served with distinction for several years as Chief Professor of History and later as the Principal of the Presidency College, Madras and member of the Syndicate of Madras University. He also made significant contribution to the field of history and archaeology, both as a teacher and a researcher. His work, entitled *The Problem of Dravidian Origins: A Linguistic and Archaeological Approach,* has been published by the University of Madras. It is only appropriate that an endowment has been instituted in his memory to invite distinguished archaeologists and historians to deliver lectures on the subject every year.

On behalf of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of Madras University, I thank Dr. S. B. Deo, Director, Deccan College, Poona for having kindly consented to deliver these lectures for the year 1980-81. Dr. S. B. Deo, is a senior archaeologist of our country, who has been engaged in recent years in intensive field work connected with the problem of the Chalcolithic and Megalithic cultures of Deccan. His excavations have yielded significant results which he has presented in these lectures in a lucid manner. The University of Madras has pleasure in bringing out the lectures in a book form for the benefit of wider circle of scholars and researchers.

K. V. RAMAN,
Professor and Head of the Dept. of
Ancient History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

# PREFACE

The following three lectures were given on 4th, 5th and 6th February, 1981 as the Late Prof. T. Balakrishna Nair Memorial Endowment Lectures at the Madras University.

During the last three decades, significant discoveries have been made regarding the Chalcolithic and the Megalithic Cultures of peninsular India, and it was thought proper to bring together and present this data to the world of scholars. Prof. T. Balakrishna Nair Memorial Lectureship offered this opportunity. In a large measure the credit of these discoveries goes to the Deccan College Research Institute, Pune.

The first lecture takes a review of the work done so far and the nature of new data or new approach involed in each excavation. The second spells out the cultural personality of the Chalcolithic habitations and the last that of the Megaliths. There is a short resume which focuses the attention of scholars on the problem which need solution.

I am indeed grateful to the authorities of the Madras University for inviting me to deliver these lectures. To Prof. K. V. Raman, Head of the Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Madras University, I am beholden for his manifold courtesies. I also thank the Rathnam Press, Madras-1, for printing this monograph as carefully as possible.

Last but not the least, I am thankful to all my colleagues in my Department and scholars from the Archaeological Survey of India and the Universities for permitting me to draw upon their researches.

Deccan College,
Pune 411 006,
1st January, 1982.

S. B. DEO

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S. B. DEO

Deccan College

Pune 411 006

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RECENT RESEARCHES

ON

# The Chalcolithic and Megalithic Cultures of the Deccan

## I

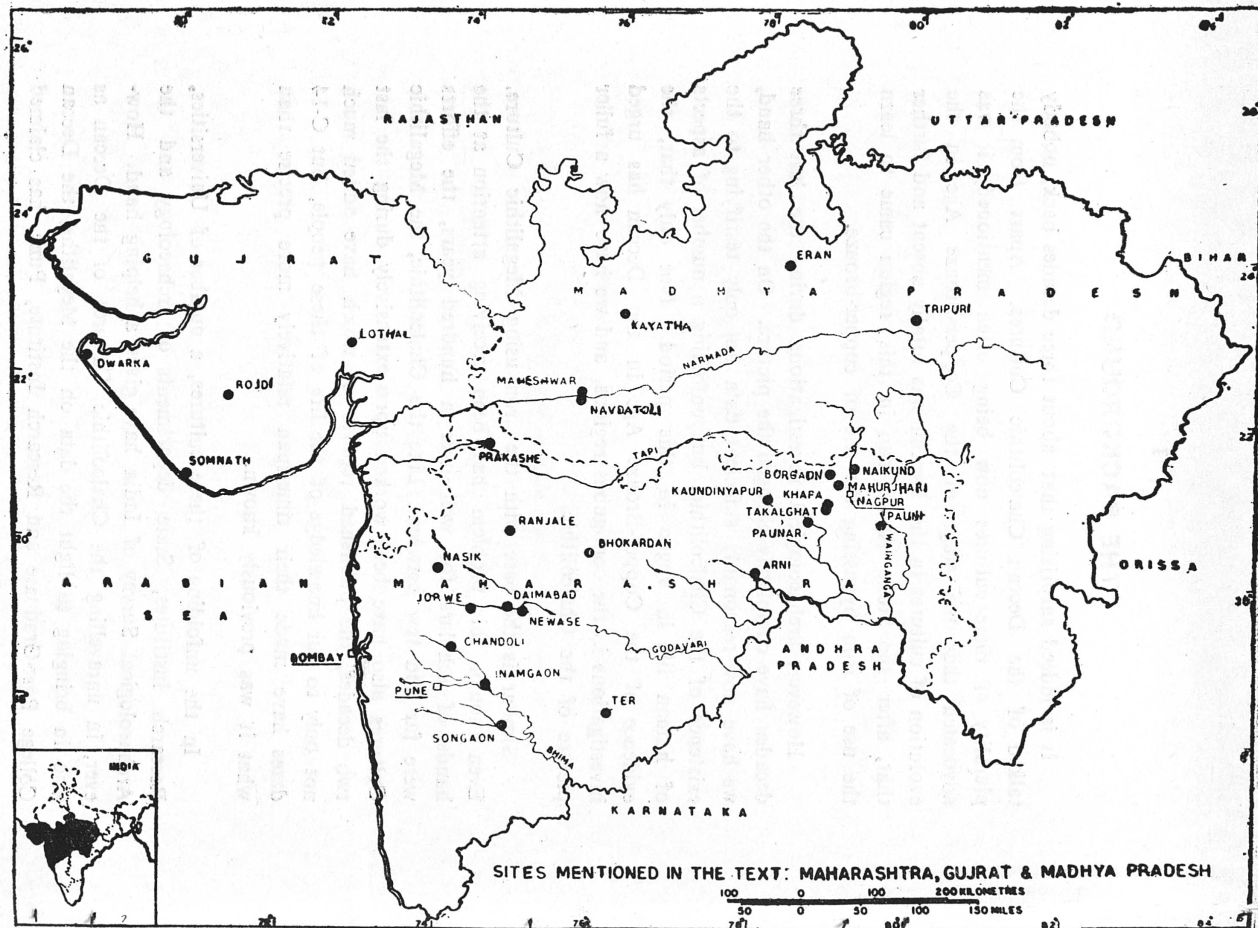
# THE BACKGROUND

It is indeed surprising that about three decades back, nobody talked of the Deccan Chalcolithic Cultures. Apart from the plurality of these cultures now being often mentioned, it was advocated that the stage of the Copper-Bronze Age in the evolution of cultures in the Deccan was totally absent and further that, after the Stone Ages, man in this region came to learn the use of iron bypassing the use of copper-bronze.

However, archaeological investigations during the last three decades have completely changed the picture. On the other hand, we have now reasonably sufficient data not only testifying to the existence of the Chalcolithic, but unfolding a number of aspects of human life in vogue in this period. Not only that, the evidence of the Copper-Bronze Age in the Deccan has urged investigations in the contiguous regions, and we have now a fuller picture of the Chalcolithic.

Similar is the case with the iron using Megalithic Culture. Even though this problem has been receiving attention at the hands of scholars for well over a hundred years, the efforts were far and few between. Like the Chalcolithic, the Megalithic Cultures also have been worked upon extensively during the last two decades, the published reports of which have added much not only to our knowledge of the life of these people, but C-14 dates have made their time-span relatively more precise than what it was previously known.

In the unfolding of these cultures, a number of Universities, Research institutes, State departments of archaeology and the Archaeological Survey of India have given a helping hand. However, in unravelling the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan as also in bringing to light the data on the Megaliths, the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, has claimed




SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT: MAHARASHTRA, GUJRAT & MADHYA PRADESH

a lion's share, as it has not only excavated a number of sites but also has published reports thereon expeditiously. And, therefore, we are now on better and surer grounds so far as the studies of the Chalcolithic and Megalithic Cultures are concerned.

The story behind these archaeological investigations is indeed very interesting as it has been the result of popular curiosity and scientific techniques of investigations coupled with a new understanding of the process of culture dynamics. So far as the Chalcolithic Cultures are concerned, the story goes back to 1949 or thereabout. A chance publication of a news item by an officer in the Agriculture Department of the Bombay State, in one of the Poona Dailies, regarding the find of pottery bearing paintings in black and having peculiar shapes like spouted pots and double carinated pots along with copper bangles and peculiar flat axes at Jorwe on the river Pravarā in District Ahmednagar in Maharashtra proved sensational inasmuch as this was the first evidence available regarding the use of painted pottery and copper axes unknown to the early historic period. Here, therefore, was a piece of evidence which could neither go with Stone Age nor with Iron Age. When the site of Jorwe, a flat low area, much disturbed but not having any historical deposits, was explored, it was reported by the local people that in the adjacent fields lot of painted pottery and sometimes, casually, copper bangles often came up and that there was a tradition that Jorwe was, in ancient times, the city of the Mahābhārata King Jarāsaṁdha. Thus the legendary tradition and find of painted pottery and copper artifacts at Jorwe put it firmly on the map of the Chalcolithic Deccan.

However, this was confirmed only when in 1950-51 the site of Jorwe and in the same season Nāsik on the Godāvarī, were excavated. The excavations at Nāsik were helpful in confirming the protohistoric nature of the Jorwe Culture, the latter so called after the site where it was first reported. Since Jorwe was a single culture site, it was unable to put the culture in the context of other cultures. However, Nāsik excavations finally proved that the Jorwe pottery and other artifacts associated

with it, were much prior to the period of the NBP, as the horizons of the NBP Culture and those of the Jorwe Culture at Nāsik were intervened by a weathered horizon showing a break in occupation between the end of the Jorwe Culture and the incoming NBP Culture of the early historic period. Hence at Nāsik, the Chalcolithic Jorwe Culture was first dated to about 1000 B.C. or earlier, on relative basis taking into consideration the stratigraphic horizons associated with these two cultures and the weathered deposit in between which indicated the desertion of the site after the disappearance of the Jorwe people,

With this basic stage in investigations, further explorations were undertaken in which the site of Nevāsā in Ahmednagar District and situated on the bank of the Pravarā, were undertaken. Here again, it may be stated that in actuality, the aim of starting excavations here was entirely different, though the result led to further knowledge of Jorwe Culture. Nevāsā has been a very sacred place in Maharashtra, associated as it is, with Saint Jñāneśwara who is supposed to have stayed here in the 13th cent. A.D. to write a Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, called Jñāneśwarī. The then Chief Minister of Bombay was interested to know whether anything of the Jñāneśwara period could be found by the spade of the archaeologist. The excavation therefore, was started in 1954-55 at the mound designated as Lāḍmoḍ (i.e., destroyed by the Lāṭas) to throw more light on the period and life of Jñāneśwara. However, after the excavations, it was found that at Nevāsā also, the first occupation belonged to a people who used the same type of painted pottery (Plate: 1a) and copper objects as evidenced at Jorwe and Nāsik. Thus Nevāsā proved to be another site on the river Pravarā, a tributary of the Godavārī, which though 70 kms. to the SEE of Jorwe, was habitated by the Jorwe people. This gave the first indication of the possible extensive habitations by the Jorwe people in the Deccan.

The excavations at Nevāsā begun in 1954-55 were also continued in the subsequent season, i.e., 1955-56 for confirmation of the earlier sequence, and again on a horizontal scale

in 1959-60 with a view to know more about the settlement pattern, nature and layout of houses and to have more ceramic and other data. The Nevāsā excavation proved important from several points of view. Firstly, it confirmed, as at Nāsik, the presence of a weathered horizon between the end of the Chalcolithic Jorwe Culture and the re-settlement at the site in the early Sātavāhana or early historic period. Thus Nevāsā also indicated that the site was deserted around c. 1000 B.C. after the disappearance of the Jorwe people due to reasons then unknown. Secondly, it gave evidence, to some extent, of the nature of the houses of the Jorwe people, though the technique adopted later in the excavations at Ināmgāon might have been more rewarding in exposing and understanding the nature of a house with its contents. Thirdly, it also gave adult and child burials (Plate: 1b), the latter being as many as 102 and all under the age of 3. In the case of the former, it brought out the significant trait of some skulls inasmuch as some showed a marked prognathism, supposed by some to be the trait associated with some of the aboriginal people of Deccan; and finally, Nevāsā, in the final season, brought out the association of a thin Black-and-Red Ware, albeit in small quantities, with the Jorwe Ware. However, till the end of the excavation, the Jorwe Ware was taken to be a uniform homogeneous ware without any change. Nevāsā also gave evidence, in the Chalcolithic levels, of the use of silk and cotton in the making of a thread to be used for necklace of copper and jasper beads (Plate: 2a). It also yielded data in the form of copper axes (Plate: 2b), chisels, bangles and fish-hooks which, when analysed, gave an insight into the technology of the Jorwe people. It was, thus, by the excavations at Nevāsā that Jorwe Culture as a Chalcolithic Culture of Northern and Central Deccan was established.

A year later (1960), a site on the third river of the Northern Deccan was located in the form of Chāṇḍolī, situated on the right bank of the river Ghoḍ, i.e., the same river on which later investigations located the classic site of Ināmgāon. Chāṇḍolī, having a small Chalcolithic deposit of about 1·5 metres, gave on the surface, besides the Jorwe Ware, two other wares, known

from Central India, or to be more precise from Nāvḍāṭolī on the Narmadā. These two wares comprised of the Malwa Ware and the Cream Ware which thus indicated contact with Central Indian and Rajasthan Protohistoric Cultures. It must, however, be stated here that Deshpande's excavations at Dāimābād on the Pravarā in Ahmednagar District had attested to the presence of the Central Indian or Malwa Ware, though Nevāsā was devoid of it. Thus Chāṇḍolī proved to be the second site which confirmed the incoming of the Central Indian Chalcolithic people or the Malwa Culture people in the Deccan. This was, indeed, a new addition to the knowledge of the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan. Thus the valleys of the Godāvarī, Pravarā and the Ghoḍ gave evidence of Chalcolithic habitations. Apart from this, Chāṇḍolī proved to be important from one more aspect. It gave for the first time, besides the known copper objects like beads, axes, bangles, chisels and fish-hooks, a unique object in the form of a spear-head of copper, leaf-shaped and with the blade having a mid-rib and the tang having a split antennae end. This was at once reminiscent of similar artifacts reported from the Caucasus region which, according to some scholars, especially Heine Gildern, was connected with the Aryans in the early stages. Thus Chāṇḍolī brought in a new element in the understanding of the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan.

Five years later, that is in 1965, a new site came to light in a new region of the Deccan. Reports of the find of a flat copper axe with copper bangles in a bunch, were received by the Deccan College from local residents of a small village called Songaon about 96 kms. SE of Poona and situated on the confluence of minor rivers Nirā and Karhā. It had twin mounds having a deposit of about 5½ metres, all of the Chalcolithic and bereft of any historical or post-Chalcolithic deposits. Though the area was disturbed because of agricultural operations, the major mound gave, on surface, Jorwe, Malwa and the Black-and-Red Wares. Apart from the knowledge of the spread of the Chalcolithic in a new area, Songaon proved important from more than one aspect. Firstly, it gave evidence of wheat (Plate: 4a) on a large scale which helped in dating the site by C-14 — which

ranged between 1470—1375 B.C. — and thus corroborated the C-14 dates arrived at Chāṇḍolī i.e., 1330—1240 B.C.—; secondly, it, for the first time, gave evidence of circular pit-dwelling (Plate : 3b); thirdly, it necessitated re-thinking on the so-called uniformity or homogeneity of the Jorwe Ware, as it gave for the first time some sort of a degenerate variety of the Jorwe Ware, and finally it gave again for the first time. an evidence of the contact between the Megalithic and the Jorwe Chalcolithic in its end phase as evidenced by the presence of the Megalithic Black-and-Red Ware, to be confirmed later at Ināmgāon. Thus the excavations at Songaon brought to light the fact that the Jorwe Culture was fairly extensive and that around 1000 B.C., or a little later, there was culture contact between the Megalithic and the Chalcolithic.

The most classic site in the fuller understanding of the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan came into the picture with the location of Ināmgāon situated on the river Ghoḍ and lying 80 kms. to the east of Poona. The Deccan College has been conducting excavations at the site since 1968-69 and it has given excellent data. It is one of the most extensive sites, next only to Dāimābād on the river Pravarā, but from the point of view of technique of excavation, the nature of the data and settlement pattern, it has proved to be unique. This site was accidentally brought to light in the explorations undertaken by an amateur archaeologist, but his sense of curiosity has helped put Ināmgāon permanently on the archaeological map of India.

Though a full report is awaiting publication, from the various articles published so far, it has established its importance as it has brought out several new factors associated with both the Malwa and the Jorwe Cultures. Strenghthened by a series of Carbon-14 dates ranging between 1600 and 700 B.C., it appears to have been the second site after Dāimābād to evidence continuous habitation for about a full millenium. Moreover, its three metre deposit has given evidence of the changing pattern of houses and agricultural economy, and has attested to the evidence of a phase designated as "Late Jorwe" showing change in the fabric

and typology of the Jorwe Ware. It has also evidenced the existence of irrigation methods and a jetty which have given a new dimension to the understanding of Jorwe Culture. It has further given evidence of complete house plans with partitions and with facilities for storage of grains. Quite a variety of grains, wheat and barley being the chief among them, have been evidenced. Quite new modes of human burials have been brought to light. This excavation has shown again the contact between the end of Late Jorwe and the Megalithic. It has also put forward the possibility of the Jorwe Culture coming to an end because of draught.

Besides the sites excavated by the Deccan College, three others tapped by the Archaeological Survey of India have also helped to understand the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan, and due credit must be given to the excavation of these sites. These are Bahāl-Tekwaḍā, Prakāshe and Dāimābād, the former two associated with the Tāpī Girṇā system and the third on the Pravarā. In point of actual excavations, those at the twin sites of Bahāl and Tekwaḍā were excavated in 1956-57.

Bahāl, situated on the river Girṇā was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India. Here, there were two phases of occupation, the earlier, that is I a, gave Grey Ware, some with red ochre painting as at other Chalcolithic sites, whereas I b gave Malwa Ware, the Lustrous Red Ware of Rangpur and the Black-and-Red Ware of Banās Culture of Rajasthan. After this came the Jorwe Ceramic. Tekwaḍā, on the opposite bank, coincided with I b of Bahāl, and gave adult and child burials as also the Black-and-Red Ware with graffiti thus indicating its Megalithic association. Thus Bahāl and Tekwaḍā took us a step further—to be confirmed later at Songaon and Ināmgāon—in evidencing the contact between the Jorwe Chalcolithic and the Megalithic.

In the subsequent year, the classic site of Dāimābād on the Pravarā was excavated, albeit on a small scale. According to the then available evidence, the excavator found evidence of habitations of three periods: The first being Neolithic, the second Malwa and the third Jorwe. It may, however, be stated here

that the recent large scale excavations have not only brought to light evidence of houses and other aspects connected with the life of the people, but has given two very significant categories of evidence which cannot be ignored. First is that the entire sequence based on earlier excavation has been revised and secondly, there is unmistakable evidence of Late Harappan contact with Dāimābād.

So far as the sequence is concerned, it seems—at least on ceramic evidence—to go back much earlier than Malwa and Jorwe. Here Malwa is preceeded by the Late Harappan as evidenced by pottery, a seal and the painting of an Indus script-component on a potsherd. Late Harappan is preceeded by the Buff Ware which again is preceeded by what is termed as Sāvalḍā Ware which is distinguished by a thick fabric, crackled slip and geometrical painted designs in red or black or purple. The Ware has been christened after the name of the site on the Tāpī, not far away from Prakāshe. However, there are as yet no C-14 dates for Dāimābād. It may, however, be mentioned that a small-scale excavation by the Deccan College at Āpegāon on the Godāvarī in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra, has given a C-14 date of 1660 B.C. for the Sāvalḍā Ware horizon, which is, thus not much earlier than the date for Malwa Ware.

However, inspite of this sequence which has been revealed only at Dāimābād so far, the contact with the Harappan Civilization, though Late Harappan in content, is significant, as no other site has so far evidenced it. Apart from this, the recent hoard of animal figures in copper on wheels and a charioteer driving a chariot drawn by a pair of bullocks has enhanced the importance of the site. Since there are no historical deposits at Dāimābād and since the facial features of the human figure and animal figures like the bull, the buffalo, the elephant and the rhinoceros are akin to those of the Harappan Civilization, some scholars are inclined to assign them to the Harappan tradition while some take the charioteer as representing proto-Paśupati. Thus the excavations at Dāimābād have given a

new dimension to the Deccan Chalcolithic inasmuch as, it has evidenced the penetration of late Harappan elements in the northern Deccan.

The site of Prakāshe on the Tāpī in northern Deccan, excavated in 1964-65, gave further unmistakable evidence of the inroads of the Chalcolithic and Protohistoric Cultures from Central India and Rajasthan. Even though the site gave evidence of habitations right upto the medieval period, the first occupation was Chalcolithic, divided into two phases, the earlier one characterised by the Grey Ware, the Malwa Ware and the Banas Valley Black-and-Red Ware, and the subsequent phase marked by the Lustrous Red Ware and the Jorwe Ware. On ceramic evidence, therefore, Prakāshe, by virtue of its geographical location, seems to have received cultural impetus from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, though further south the ceramic tradition of the Malwa Culture of Madhya Pradesh seems to have made headway.

It would thus appear from the foregoing survey, that the archaeological investigations during the last three decades have added to our knowledge about the Chalcolithic Cultures of the Deccan which, prior to 1950, were totally unknown. From nothing, the Chalcolithic Cultures have been exposed with a bang, the different aspects of which are simply bewildering.

Similar has been the case with the investigations in respect of the Megalithic Culture. No doubt at Tekwaḍā, Songaon and Ināmgāon the evidence of the Megalithic contact in the dying phases of the Jorwe Culture was forthcoming, but that was more peripheral rather than massive. However, even in respect of the Megalithic Culture in the Deccan, very significant data has been brought to light along with a few C-14 dates. Inspite of this, it may be stated that the pace of investigations in respect of the Megalithic Culture has been rather slower than that in respect of the Chalcolithic Culture.

It is indeed true that the history of the investigations into the nature of the Megalithic remains in peninsular India can be

pushed back to a period more than a hundred years old. Even in the NE region of the Deccan, i.e. Vidarbha, scholars like Hunter, Rivet-Carnac and Pears did some work at sites like Māhurjharī and Junāpānī very close to Nagpur. But their attempts, as also those by subsequent scholars, were extremely of a limited nature. The contact between the late Jorwe and the Megalithic as evidenced at Bahāl-Tekwaḍā, Ināmgāon, Songaon, etc., urged a fresh attempt in understanding the Megalithic Culture vis-a-vis the Chalcolithic.

However, initial work at Māhurjharī was done at a time when nothing of the Deccan Chalcolithic was known or even guessed of. The finds located at Māhurjharī comprised mostly of the early historic, or, to be more precise, of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period, comprising of beads of carnelian in various stages of manufacture, a seal with the legend in the characters of the same period and the sculpture of the Lajjā-Gaurī. Subsequently, copper-plate grant of King Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was also recovered. But there was nothing about the Megalithic stone circles, nor are they even mentioned as such, even though they are spread over a large area and are more than seventy in number. Similar was the case of Junāpānī, close by Māhurjharī, which has more than two hundred stone circles.

As has been referred to earlier, the first evidence of the Megalithic Culture having existed in western Maharashtra came to light in the excavations at Tekwaḍā in 1956-57 when the Black-and-Red Megalithic pottery with graffiti was reported in association with the Jorwe Culture burial. A few years afterwards, a few stone circles at Junāpānī were excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India which did not give any indication of contact with any Chalcolithic Culture, but gave a single sherd painted in black on red. A big gap, spacial and chronological, yet remained between the Stone Circles of Vidarbha region and the end of the Chalcolithic Jorwe Culture of western Deccan. Even though the excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura in Amarāvatī District and Paunār in Wardhā District did give evidence of the initial

habitation being to some extent of the Megalithic Culture - as indicated by typical Megalithic iron artifacts and Black-and-Red pottery - its dating remained a problem. For instance, whereas at Paunār, it was pre-NBP, at Kauṇḍinyapura it was dated by the excavator to c. 2000 B.C. which was not only wide of the mark for the Megalithic but even so in relation to the earliest known Chalcolithic Culture of the Deccan, i.e. Malwa Culture.

Thus the dating of the Megalithic Culture and its relations, if any, with the end phase of the Deccan Chalcolithic remained a problem. Secondly, only the funerary aspect of the Megalithic Culture was known, the other details regarding their lifeways were to a large measure unknown.

A series of excavations in the Vidarbha region as at Ṭākalghāṭ and Khāpā (1968-69), Māhurjharī (1972-73, 1978-79), Nayākuṇḍ (1979-80) and Borgaon (1980-81), have helped in understanding the habitational pattern, the technology, the economy and the ceramic industries of the Vidarbha Megaliths. Some of these sites have also provided C-14 dates. For instance, Ṭākalghāṭ and Nayākuṇḍ have given evidence of the houses, food habits and agricultural economy of the Megalithic people. Apart from the normal Megalithic Black-and-Red Ware, these sites have also given evidence of the use of painted pottery—black on red or black on micaceous red—on a reasonably fair scale by the Megalithic people. However, it may be mentioned here that this painted ware has no affinity whatever with the painted pottery of the Chalcolithic Cultures of western Deccan. But the C-14 dates have taken back the antiquity of the Vidarbha Megalithic people to the seventh century B.C. which is significant inasmuch as, it is at this period that Ināmgaon has given evidence of Megalithic contact with the end phase of late Jorwe Culture. Not only that, just close by Ināmgaon, at a site called Pimpalsuti, have been found remains of a Megalithic stone circle and a cyclopean structure.

Inspite of this concordance in time, it must be mentioned that a wide region intervenes which is as yet to yield

evidence of the existence of Megalithic remains. Megalithic remains have so far been located in Bhandara, Chandrapur, Nagpur, Yavatmal and Wardhā Districts of Vidarbha with unmistakable evidence of habitations at Paunār, Kauṇḍinyapura, Arṇī, Ṭākalghāt and Nayākuṇḍ, whereas no habitations of the Megalithic people have so far been reported from Ranjālā, Ināmgāon or Songaon. But our knowledge of the Megalithic has distinctly advanced on the basis of the excavations and explorations carried out during especially the last decade and a half. It has also been possible to set this culture in a chronological framework and also to know its technology of iron smelting as evidenced at Nayākuṇḍ.

The foregoing survey of the investigations done in respect of the Chalcolithic and the Megalithic Cultures of the Deccan would make one aware not only of the new knowledge gained but also of the magnitude of that yet to be gained. In passing, one more aspect may be mentioned. A new awareness of studying these cultures from the approach of ethno-archaeology has come to stay. It is no use simply excavating a site and present the data in as precise a description as possible. It must be co-related, as far as and wherever possible, with the traditions, legends and present day pattern of life of the people habitating these regions. Two instances of the necessity of adopting an ethno-archaeological approach may be cited. Just near the site of Ināmgāon, there is a primitive shrine which is even now regularly visited by the aboriginals from Central India. Secondly, throughout Vidarbha, the Megalithic remains are associated with the Lambāḍīs who are a nomadic tribe moving from place to place with all their belongings, the horse being an inalienable item of their belongings.

## II

# THE CHALCOLITHIC CULTURES

A number of sites have been referred to earlier which are indicative of the large are inhabitated by the Chalcolithic people. This comprises of almost all the major river valleys from Tāpī in the north to the Krishṇā in the south. However, in this process of the spread of the Chalcolithic Cultures, the regions of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnatak - all contiguous to Maharashtra - have played a part. But in understanding this process of culture spread and development, not all the sites excavated so far have been helpful to the fullest extent. It may be admitted that the fault lies not with these sites but more with the excavator as, except a few, most of the sites have been excavated on a limited scale and the approach and the techniques adopted in later or recent excavations have improved with the passage of time.

It has been pointed out earlier how every excavation has to some extent added to our knowledge. However, inspite of these fragment of knowledge, prior to the large scale excavations at Nevāsā and the careful and purposeful dig at Ināmgāon, the different aspects of the life of the Chalcolithic people of the Deccan remained suggestive rather than explicit.

It is now well established that the Chalcolithic cultural sequence as revealed in the various excavations has worked out to be: Period I: Malwa, Period II: Jorwe, and Period III: Megalithic. Within Period II, i.e. Jorwe, there are two phases evidenced first at Songaon and confirmed at Ināmgāon, designated as Early Jorwe and Late Jorwe.

The C-14 dates available from Ināmgāon have taken back the antiquity of Malwa Culture there to 16th century B.C. (1565± 95 B.C.) which is not inconsistent with the date assigned to the same culture at Nāvḍātoli on the Narmadā in Madhya Pradesh

The end-date for the same culture at Ināmgaon is assigned to about 1400 B.C. on C-14 showing.

So far as the Jorwe Culture is concerned, the division into Early and Late was not conceived of in the excavations at Nevāsā, Chāṇḍolī, Prakāshe, etc., but was clearly visualised at Ināmgaon on the basis of change in ceramic fabric and typology. Therefore, the C-14 dates for Jorwe Culture as a whole ranged between 1565 ± 110 and 1290 ± 95 B.C., whereas at Ināmgaon Early Jorwe could be assigned a time-bracket of 1400–1100 B.C. and Late Jorwe could be placed between 1100 and 700 B.C.

So far as the Megalithic Culture of north-east Deccan or Vidarbha region is concerned, this has been assigned to a specific time bracket on the basis of Carbon-14 dates. For instance, C-14 dates available from Ṭākalghāṭ mid-phase of Megalithic habitation and Nayākuṇḍ (habitation as well as burial) have been respectively 615 ± 105 B.C. and 465 ± 110 B.C. Thus the initial habitation of the Megalithic people at Ṭākalghat could be earlier than 7th century B.C., which goes well with the end of Jorwe Culture and Megalithic contact at Ināmgaon. Thus, during the last three decades, so far as the history of the protohistoric cultures is concerned, it has unfolded more or less a continuous story from 17th century B.C. to about the 3rd century B.C., a period of about 1500 years.

Before undertaking a detailed survey of the material components of Malwa Culture as revealed at Chāṇḍolī, Songaon, Prakāshe, Āpegaon and finally at Ināmgaon, it would be proper to mention that pre-Chalcolithic Neolithic elements had penetrated the Northern and Central Deccan in the form of polished stone tools and Grey Ware with red ochre painting. Whereas, however, Neolithic sites like Uṭnoor, Piklihāl, Ṭekkalkoṭā, Pālāvoy, Paiyampalli, Sangankallu and Hallur in Andhra-Karnatak region have given evidence of a dominantly Neolithic habitations ranging between the time span of 2295 ± 155 and 1360 ± 210 B.C., no site giving evidence solely of the Neolithic Culture has so far been known in the region of Malwa-Jorwe Cultures in

Maharashtra. The find of polished stone axes and the grey ware mostly employed in child burials were probably adopted by the Chalcolithic people from the Neolithic people further south and east of the region of Malwa-Jorwe Cultures of the Deccan.

As stated earlier, though Jorwe Culture sites were known as at Jorwe, Nāsik, Chāṇḍolī, Songaon, etc., their excavations helped only to give a very broad and general outline of the distribution and nature of these protohistoric habitations. Whereas Nāsik, Nevāsā and Prakāshe continued to be habitated even after the Chalcolithic Jorwe Culture till about the late medieval period, the single culture Chalcolithic sites of Songaon and Chāṇḍolī were largely disturbed and were excavated on a limited scale with the result that the nature of a full-scale settlement could not be known. The large-scale excavations at Nevāsā in 1959-60 failed to give complete plans of houses which would have been helpful in visualising the nature of settlement of the Jorwe people. What it gave instead, was the piecemeal knowledge that the houses of these people were of wattle-and-daub, the floors were lime plastered and children were buried in the floor of the house in two grey ware urns oriented north-south. It did indicate that the Jorwe people knew silk and hemp, but did not give any evidence of their agricultural economy, except at Songaon which gave evidence of wheat (Plate: 4a). What, therefore, was needed was to find and excavate a site which would give plans of houses, evidence of economy, layout of settlement—in short, evidence of the social, religious and economic life of the people associated with the Malwa and Jorwe Cultures. Such a site was discovered in 1967-68 at Ināmgaon on the river Ghod and about 80 kms. east of Pune. The site (Plate: 4b), having five mounds, covers an area roughly 500 × 500 mts., and is a single culture, i.e. Chalcolithic site. Much of our knowledge of the settlement pattern and economy of the Malwa and Jorwe people is based on the data so carefully brought to light in the excavations at Ināmgaon begun in 1968-69 and still continuing. The following information, culturewise, is, therefore, based mostly on the evidence from Ināmgaon and the

supplementary data from other sites has been refered to wherever available.

*Extent of habitation*

In terms of sheer area having habitational deposit—whether of Malwa or Jorwe or other cultures—Dāimābad on the Pravarā is the largest site, practically double the size of Ināmgaon, the latter being 65 acres in extent. The third in extent is Prakāshe and fourth is Nevāsā. However, it does not mean that all the area of each of these sites was under occupation by the people of a single culture. As at Nevāsā, the habitation comprised only of the Jorwe people whereas at Ināmgaon, certain mounds of the five, were occupied only at certain periods. Thus it gives as idea as to how the population was shifting and how certain areas were deserted after a particular period. At Ināmgaon, the central mound was thickly populated showing better made houses, whereas in some areas, as we shall see later, the size of and the equipment in the house was considerably less as these were possibly occupied by the artisan class or those who were economically less affluent.

*The Houses*

Whereas no remains of the Malwa Culture were found at Nevāsā, those exposed at Chāṇḍolī and Songaon were not of that magnitude as to give a complete picture of the Malwa house. The only details available were in the form of floors made of rammed clay, plastered with lime and the walls having a bamboo screen plastered on either side with clay. The houses of Malwa culture as exposed at Ināmgaon were complete on plan. Inhabitants of Ināmgaon of this period had two types of houses: (a) rectangular houses with walls of reed screens plastered on either face with clay and with floors remade several times and plastered with fine clay or lime, and (b) pit dwellings. The largest of the latter type had a diameter of 3 meters and a depth of 1·23 meters. It had steps to descend into it and such a house was possibly covered with a conical light roof supported by posts all around its outer periphery. It may be

mentioned here that Songaon had also given evidence of circular pits close by each other (Plate: 3b).

A large size standard Malwa house, as exposed at Ināmgaon, measured 6·66 meters x 4·40 meters. It had circular postholes close to the outer periphery of the wattle-and daub walls. Inside it, a thin clay wall divided the house into two rooms. Close to the north-east corner of the interior of the house, was found to have been made a circular clay platform about 2 metres in diameter and having a basal thickness of 10 cms. Even now, not only at Ināmgaon but in several villages of Maharashtra, such platforms are used to support storage bins for grains. The other components of this standard house comprised a storage jar in south west corner, half buried in the floor. Close to the east of the storage jar was a circular shallow pit dug in the floor of the house in which four bowls with flat bottoms were found to have been kept neatly. Close to the storage jar and the pit with four bowls was found a rectangular clay *chulāh* or hearth in the centre of which was a vertical straight clay stem possibly for supporting a slab or a pot to facilitate cooking. In the south east corner was found a saddle quern fixed in the floor. It it argued by the excavators that such a house was sufficient to accommodate about five people. More than a score of such houses were exposed in the central locality equipped with storage bins implying that the inhabitants of this locality were economically affiuent enough to store grains.

*The Pottery*

The Malwa pottery as reported from Dāimābād, Prakāshe, Chāṇḍolī, Songaon and Ināmgaon shows the same features as evidenced at the keysite of Nāvḍātolī on the Narmadā in Madhya Pradesh. It is characterised by a thick orange to red slip, a galaxy of painted designs in black and a variety of shapes. A house in the central locality at Ināmgaon contained, on an average, pots of different shapes ranging in number between 50 and 60, whereas the number of these was much less in the houses outside the Central locality. In the Malwa Ware were

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normally encountered. medium size storage jars with flaring mouth, carinated pots with funnel mouth, bowls with vertical sides, spouted pots and *loṭās* with high concave neck and squattish globular body.

Besides Malwa Ware, two other wares were also in vogue during the Malwa Culture phase. They were the blotchy grey ware with patches of light red, and the handmade ware. Whereas the latter's typology was restricted to storage jars sometimes with applique bands having finger tip decoration, the Red and Grey Ware comprised of shapes like globular pots with funnel shaped mouth, flat based bowls with flaring sides and hemispherical bowls.

As at Nāvḍātolī, the Malwa ware at Ināmgaon, Chāṇḍolī, Songaon and Prakāshe as also at Dāimābād is characterised by a variety of paintings in black. However, the range of geometrical and other motifs as revealed at Nāvḍātolī appears to have been greater and finer than that evidenced in the Malwa of the Deccan Chalcolithic including Ināmgaon. At the latter site, animal motifs like the deer are evidenced but mostly panels and registers of geometrical painted decoration occur.

*Burials*

It was surprising that inspite of horizontal excavations at Nāvḍātolī, no burials were encountered. Similar was the case at other sites like Prakāshe, Chāṇḍolī, Songaon and Dāimābād, with the result that the method of the disposal of the dead in vogue among the people of the Malwa Culture is practically unknown. However, so far, only one case of a child burial is reported from the pit dwellings of this culture from Ināmgaon. In one of the pit dwellings, right in the floor of such a house, was evidenced a child burial in two grey urns kept face to face in a pit about 10 cms. deep, dug into the floor. It will thus be recalled that this mode of burial is typical of the Jorwe Culture. Whether the Jorwe people adopted it from the Malwa people and whether the latter adopted it from the Neolithic people of the south is a moot question. However, it may be noted that except the singular piece of evidence from Ināmgaon,

no other site has given such an evidence which might as well suggest that the Malwa people did not adopt it on a large scale, in which case it may suggest other modes of the disposal of the dead.

*The Economy and Food Habits*

So far as Malwa Culture of the Deccan is concerned, there are only two sites which have shed light on the agricultural economy and technology of these people. It is well known that Nāvḍātoli has given quite a range of grains. At Ināmgaon also evidence of burnt grains of Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), Lentil (*Lens esulenta*) and Horse gram (*Dolichos biflorus*) has been found. It may be noted that besides this, in a pit-dwelling were recovered the remains of disintegrated grain identified as *jowār* (*Sorghum vulgare*). This discovery is important and of signal value as it was believed that *jowār* was introduced into India sometime by the beginning of the Christian era. However, with the find of *jowār* in levels assigned to c.16th century B.C., the view advocating the late introduction of this grain in India has been disproved. It may also be mentioned here that the grains like barley, lentil and horse gram were found in a burnt state. It can be explained on the basis of the fact that even now such grains are baked before reducing them to floor. So, what the excavated evidence has made available are the remains of possibly overburnt specimens. The evidence of stone saddle querns and rubbing stones attested to the pounding of the grains.

To supplement vegetarian food, the people of the Malwa Culture also consumed non-vegetarian food. Bones of animals like sheep, goat and deer and fish-hooks substantiate this. It is also certain that some animals like the bull were domesticated and used for ploughing and for transport.

*Tools and Weapons*

As elsewhere, the Malwa people used copper and blades of finer stone for different purposes, as also bone points. Blades of chalcedony were used for preparing sickles by setting them

in a piece of bone or wood and used for harvesting the crops. Flat rectangular copper axes must have been used for cutting trees, etc., by hafting them. Copper was also used for making long chisels by beating rods into square shape and bevelling the end.

*Religion and Superstitions*

Nāvḍātolī had given evidence of rectangular *agnikuṇḍas* in which were found peculiarly shaped pots with high ringed base, biconical body with corrugations and high corrugated neck. No such evidence indicative of the religious and superstitious belief of the Malwa people has been available, except recently at Dāimābād where rectangular *kuṇḍas* showing reddened sides due to contact with fire have been reported. The find of bowls with channel spout does indeed suggest some ritualistic use, and these have been reported practically from all the excavated Chalcolithic sites except Nevāsā. Similarly, the storage jar with the figures of animals like deer and tiger or cheetah and a human figure recovered at Dāimābād in earlier excavations was interpreted to indicate some scene with magical or superstitious import. No doubt storage jars with appliqué decorations have been reported in Malwa levels at Ināmgaon as well as Dāimābād in recent excavations, but these appear more as decorations.

*The Chronology*

The dates for Malwa Culture at Nāvḍātolī, where it was first exposed on a large scale, ranged between 2300 ± 70 and 1445 ± 130 B.C. The dates for this culture at Ināmgaon range between 1565 ± 95 and 1025 ± 170 B.C. It is thus clear that this culture flourished earlier in Central India and descended in the Deccan at a later period, i.e., in about the 16th century B.C. No C-14 dates for this culture have so far been available from Dāimābād and Prakāshe. However, at the former site, the Malwa horizon succeeds the Late Harappan horizon, and therefore, taking into consideration the C-14 dates for the end of Harappan Culture, the date for Malwa at Dāimābād also should fall in line with those at Ināmgaon. If this is acceptable, then it appears certain that the Central Indian Malwa Culture

people settled in Deccan at a later stage than their occupation of Nāvḍātolī.

## THE JORWE CULTURE

It has heen explained earlier, that the earlier excavation as at Nevāsā, Chāṇḍoli, Dāimābād and Prakāshe, treated the Jorwe Cultural data as a homogeneous uniform cultural unit. However, it was in the excavations at Songaon in 1965 that some sort of a degenerate Jorwe was evidenced in association with Black-and-Red Ceramic. This distinction between the standard or Early Jorwe and the degenerate or Late Jorwe was confirmed in the excavations at Ināmgaon. Not only that, this distinction has not been restricted only to the ceramic differentiation, but has been reflected in some aspects of material culture associated with these two phases of the Jorwe Culture. This is nowhere else better evidenced than at Ināmgaon. It would, therefore, be better to state the Ināmgaon evidence in details rather than that unearthed in other earlier excavations.

### *THE EARLY JORWE*

As referred to earlier, the Early Jorwe period has been assigned a time-span of 1400–1100 B.C. on C-14 showing. Earlier, the entire Jorwe Culture was put between 1500 — 1000 B.C. on relative dating at Nevāsā and other places, and between 1565 ± 110 and 1250 ± 110 B.C. on the basis of C-14 dates available from Chāṇḍolī, Songaon and Nevāsā.

Compared to the evidence available from earlier excavations, it may be justified in stating that Ināmgaon has been the most representative site of both the Early and Late Jorwe Cultures. At Ināmgaon, the Early Jorwe is represented by about 2 metre thick deposit capping the Malwa Culture remains. The change from Malwa to Jorwe is discernible in pottery and house plans.

#### *The Nature of Settlement*

As compared to Malwa, the Early Jorwe Culture houses at Ināmgaon are larger in size and are rectangular on plan (plate: 5b) The largest of these measured 4·5 x 4·25 meters whereas the

smallest 2·75 x 2·57 meters. The pit-dwellings of the earlier Malwa period are conspicuous by their absence in this period.

The remarkable feature of the settlement of this period is that the settlement was well planned as each house was at a distance of about 2 metres from the other. Each house seems to have had an open verandah in front and squarish rooms inside. The walls were of bamboo-screen plastered on either side with clay and the floors were frequently plastered with lime. The roof above was supported by wooden poles. As many as a dozen houses built in an orderly plan have been so far exposed.

*Agriculture and Food*

Earlier to Ināmgaon, the excavations at Songaon had yielded evidence of wheat on a large scale (Plate : 4a). Besides wheat, Ināmgaon gave Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), Wheat (*Triti cum sp.*), Horse gram (*Dolichos biflorus*), Lentil (*Lens esculenta)*, Pea (*Pisumaṛ-rense sp.*), Grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus*) and Wāl (*Dolichos lablab*). That the production of these was in sufficient quantities is proved by storage facilities provided in several houses. These consisted of silos as well as storage bins which were made of wicker and plastered on either side with clay. Such storage bins are even now in vogue not only in Ināmgaon area but throughout rural Maharashtra.

This agricultural sufficiency was possible because of a noval irrigational facility for the first time evidenced at Ināmgaon. Earlier, Dāimābād had given evidence of an embankment, but it appears that it was mainly to save the habitation from the onslaught of the floods of the Pravarā flowing nearby. At Ināmgaon, on the other hand, was exposed an embankment about 300 metres in length and a channel dug out of trap rock. The excavators feel that "While this channel and embankment were primarily to divert the flood waters of the river (Ghoḍ) to protect the main habitation centre, particularly those of Mound V, the water thus diverted may also have been

used to irrigate the fields to the west" (of the habitation). As is well known, the Deccan agriculture depends mostly on the rains, and the crops evidenced at Ināmgaon are essentially winter crops which must have necessitated additional water supply which need must have been catered to by this embankment. If so, then this would be the earliest attempt at irrigation in the Deccan.

*Arts and Crafts*

This spurt in food production, supplemented by consumption of meat, as evidenced by bones of deer, sheep and goat and fish-hooks of copper used for fishing, seems to have led to the prosperity of other arts like metallurgy, bead-making and pottery-making. A small hoard of copper axes and bangles, beads of copper, carnelian and jasper, and relatively better made and abundant amount of pottery attest to this. This also seems to have led to improvement in land and riverine transport. This is indicated by the incised motif of a bullock cart on a Jorwe potsherd (Plate 11b). The cart shows two wheels on an axle and the body of the cart tapering in front to which is attached a horizontal yoke placed on the neck of a pair of bullocks with long horns and prominent humps. Riverine communications are evidenced by the painting on pottery of a boat with oars as also by the construction of a jetty in the north east corner of the settlement (Plate: 11a). This jetty reached upto the level of the river and was about two metres in width and constructed of by pebbles cemented in mud mortar.

The number of copper artifacts recovered in this period was the largest as compared to that in the preceding and the subsequent periods. Of course, the nature of copper axes, chisels, beads and fish-hooks remained essentially the same as evidenced at other sites like Jorwe, Nevāsa, Chāṇḍolī, Songaon and Dāimābād. The percentage of copper in the axes from Nevāsā and Jorwe was as high as 98% to 99% and they would be designated as of copper rather than of bronze. The Ināmgaon specimens showed the same pattern.

*The Pottery*

The fabric and typology of the Early Jorwe Culture pottery showed the same characteristics as noticed in the excavations of Jorwe sites in the Deccan. It was wheel-made, having a wash or thin slip, well fired, metallic in sound and bearing paintings in black which were mostly geometrical. However, a few animals like the deer and stylized human figure were also noticed, more as an exception than the rule. The key shapes were the carinated bowl and the spouted pot with funnel-shaped mouth and rounded bottom (Plate: 6b).

The most remarkable evidence which explained the relative plethora of Jorwe pottery in Early Jorwe was the find of a potter's kiln constructed of clay (Plate: 7a). Similar kiln has also been reported recently from Dāimābād on the Pravarā. This is, incidentally, the first evidence of a potter's kiln so far as protohistoric Deccan is concerned. Circular on plan with thick sides built up with clay mixed with grass, the kiln has a diameter of about 1·5 metres and has a channel through which faggots were inserted for fire. Inside it were found, some-what headless doll-shaped cushions with pressed sides and a central hole to allow the gases to pass. This kiln is of an open type and was used in turning out fully oxidised or red pottery like the Jorwe.

Apart from the standard Jorwe shapes like the carinated bowl and the spouted pot, some of the shapes of Early Jorwe phase at Ināmgaon are remarkable. For instance, it gave a bowl with rounded bottom and a short channel spout - a typical Malwa shape. It also gave a bowl with flat base, somewhat flared sides and a painted *swastika* on the inner bottom, a pot with tubular spout, sloping sides, short neck and carination at the shoulder, as also a series of miniature pots, and one medium sized vessel with squat globular body and a high and narrow neck. These shapes have been unknown so far from other Jorwe sites, but show surprisingly, typological proximity with Malwa, tempting a suggestion that Jorwe might perhaps have been evolved from Malwa.

*The Burials*

The Jorwe burials have been attested at a number of sites in the Deccan, as for instance, at Nevāsā, Chāṇḍolī, Bahāl and Dāimābād. In addition to the known types, Ināmgaon has given an altogether new type in Early Jorwe unknown so far from any other Jorwe site.

Whereas the child burial was more or less of a uniform type involving the use of two grey ware urns placed face to face, oriented north-south with the legs of the child generally to the south as evidenced at all the above mentioned sites, Ināmgaon, as earlier mentioned, has given such a burial in a pit in a pit-dwelling of Malwa period (Plate: 8b). As at Nevāsā and Chāṇḍolī, at Ināmgaon also, necklace of copper beads was recovered around the neck of a buried child. While at Nevāsā, the thread consisted of silk and cotton, at Chāṇḍolī the thread was of flax, at Ināmgaon it was of hemp. In some cases, the child burial was very simple, consisting of a single globular pot of Jorwe fabric covered by a lid, indicating that the parents of this child could not afford the use of grey urns as also could not bury with it its toys.

However, so far as adult burials are concerned, Jorwe Culture offers a variety of modes indicating either the social status or different classes having different burial practices within the Jorwe community as a whole. For instance, Dāimābād gave evidence of the burial of an adult right on the floor of a house, the burial being surrouded by postholes indicating that the dead was kept "lying in state" under a canopy. At the same site, as also at Nevasa, adults were found to have been buried in elongated pits with the legs to the south. The same site, as also Chāṇḍolī, gave evidence of an adult buried in a series of storage jars with the bottoms knocked off and numbering five at Nevāsā and four at Chāṇḍolī. At Ināmgaon, a pair of the dead was found to have been interred in a pit with a number of pots kept with the dead (Plate: 9b). Whereas as many as 150 burials have been encountered at Nevāsā, Ināmgaon has given sixty so far. It may also be mentioned

here, that in several cases of such extended burials, the lower extremities were found to have been cut off, whereas at Chāṇḍolī and Ināmgaon, some bones showed charring marks. The number of pots kept with the dead ranged between 2 and 26, depending obviously on the economic and social status of the deceased. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that there is a local belief that if the lower extremeties are cut, then the dead does not return as a ghost!

However, the most noteworthy burial of Early Jorwe period at Ināmgaon is the one which has been found in a storage jar which is not baked, has four legs and is fashioned only upto the middle of the belly portion of a full storage jar, i.e. having a circular open girth (Plate: 10a). In such a jar, the dead was found to have been interred in a sitting posture and a couple of carinated bowls were also kept. The profile of the jar resembles the lower belly and thighs of a female, and it is guessed that this burial may indicate the idea of "the return to the Mother" after death. A renowned surgeon who studied the skeleton by subjecting it to deep X-rays has come to the observation that this middle aged adult must have died due to some disease of the vertibra which made him bed-ridden for a number of days.

*Religion*

Of all the Jorwe sites, Nevāsā had given evidence of the religious beliefs in vogue among the Jorwe people. There is obviously no doubt that these people believed in life after death as the funerary goods interred with the dead show. Besides this, it appears that the Jorwe people worshipped terracotta figurines of male and female deities. For instance, Nevāsā has given the figure of a female mother goddess with flaring base, short arms, a featureless face, two short breasts and a gaping navel. On the other hand, Early Jorwe levels at Ināmgaon have given a series of male figures without head, as also headless and headed female figures. All these are of unfired clay. The male figures have short legs and short drooping arms and short headless neck. The headless female figures are similar to those

of the males but with the addition of breasts and some even without the neck. There are two specimens which are noteworthy. One of the headless female figure has been found with an unbaked clay figure of a bull with long and straight horns. There is a hole near the navel of the female figure and a similar perforation near the hump of the bull. If a small stick is passed through the navel of the figurine and inserted into the back of the bull, the figurine can be fixed over the back of the bull, showing as if she is riding the bull (Plate: 10b). It will be agreed that this is the first tangible evidence of a goddess with a *vāhana* going back to the middle of the second millenium B.C. If one takes into consideration the Dāimābād hoard of animals on wheels and if one agrees with the view that the charioteer of this hoard could be proto-Paśupati, then this hoard and the female figure with the bull *vāhana* may as well indicate the association of the Paśupati cult with the Jorwe Culture!

Yet another evidence indicative of the religious practices of the Early Jorwe people at Ināmgaon is the find of a oval clay box with overfitting lid containing the figure of a mother goddess, unfired but with featureless face, short arms and legs, and prominent breasts. This was found in the floor of a house and is the earliest evidence of a deity kept in a box so that the person owning it could carry it wherever he or she went. This is reminiscent of the practice of carrying the family deity in a box at present in vogue in rural Maharashtra so that there is no break in worship. It could as well be that this goddess in a box was buried below the floor of a house with a view to ward off all evil. It may not be out of place here to mention that headless figurines are referred to in the Mahābhārata as *viśirā*, and are in vogue at present with some communities, prepared as they are with a view to avoid or lessen the neck sprain of a child!

In addition to such religious practices and beliefs, the Jorwe people also seem to have some sanctity assigned to some symbols, as for instance, the *swastika*. This symbol has been found painted in black on the inner base of a small cup with flat

basc and somewhat flaring sides. It is possible that a liquid drunk from such a cup was believed to have some curative or magical property. This is indeed a reasonable guess.

*Arts and Crafts*

A reference has already been made to the find of necklaces at Nevāsā, Chāṇḍolī and Ināmgaon in a child burial. The beads associated with these necklaces comprise of red jasper, carnelian and copper. The beads are of short barrel shape and those of copper are executed out of a thin sheet. At Ināmgaon again, a lot of finished and unfinished beads of carnelian have been recovered, and the excavators justifiably feel that Ināmgaon had a bead-making industry, and possibly 'tinting' of carnelian with a view to accentuate its colour was also done here,

It is also proposed on the basis of the find of a lump of copper oar, a crucible and finished objects like fish-hooks, bangles and axes, that copper was probably locally smelted.

Shell, bone and ivory have also been evidenced, and it is likely, as the columella and beads of shell testify, that these were worked upon at Ināmgaon.

*The Economy and Population*

The foregoing account brings out the prosperity of the settlement of Early Jorwe period at Ināmgaon. Taking into consideration, the number and size of houses, the land available for agriculture and pastures, the amount of grains available, the grain bins and the skeletal remains, it may be stated that a population of more than 1000 souls—the estimate for Late Jorwe—must have formed the settlement at Ināmgaon. About the ethnic composition, it is premature to say anything at this stage as the skeletal data is yet being studied.

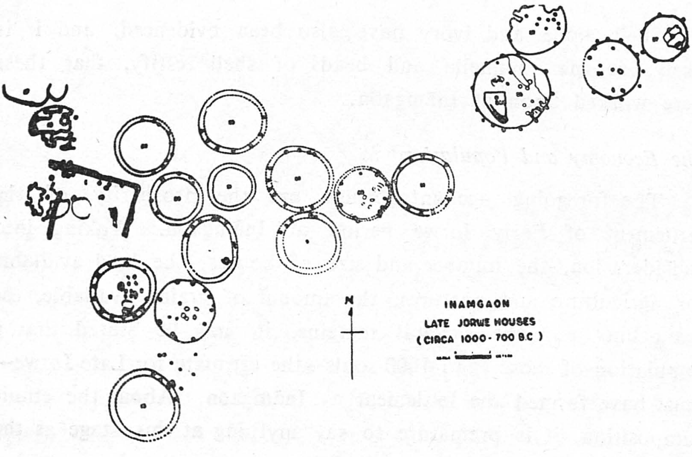
*THE LATE JORWE*

Compared to the richness of the Early Jorwe, the Late Jorwe shows a deterioration in the material culture. As stated earlier,

prior to Ināmgaon, only Songaon had shown a degeneration in the fabric of Jorwe were in Period III. It also showed an incoming of the Black-and-Red Ware using culture, some of the shapes of which were reminiscent of the Megalithic. While no C-14 dates for this phase—which incidentally could not be noticed at Nevāsā and other sites—are available at other sites, at Ināmgaon, it could be bracketed between 1100 and 700 B. C.

*The Settlement*

Inamgaon has given evidence of as many as forty houses of the Late Jorwe phase. All of these are circular on plan with a diameter ranging between 2·5 and 4·25 metres, with the clay wall having a thickness of about 40 cms. (Plate 6a). It may be recalled that the plan of the houses of Early Jorwe phase was rectangular—why this plan was abandoned and a preference was given to circular huts, is not possible to explain.




However, the group of circular huts close to one another possibily gave a greater sense of protection and the settlement became more nucleated, though the planning suffered. Whereas Early Jorwe houses had a gap of about two metres between them, the circular huts of Late Jorwe do not show any consideration

for such planning. It is not known what considerations of threat or danger, if any, led them to create a nucleated settlement.

These circular huts had wooden posts all around, which supported a light conical roof above. The material equipment inside included a saddle quern, a storage jar and a clay hearth. The floor of those huts were made of black clay and was plastered frequently with liquid clay. The hearths were possibly semi-circular with a channel for firewood. Some of these huts had well made courtyards and measuring two square metres. The area under occupation of the Late Jorwe phase could have, according to the excavators, accommodated about 200 to 250 huts. It is further stated that taking into consideration the normal average size of a rural family comprising of six to eight people, these huts could have accommodated about 1200 to 1600 persons, which might have formed the habitation of Ināmgaon of the Late Jorwe phase.

*The Pottery*

The pottery of the Late Jorwe phase shows degeneration in fabric as it is coarser than that in Early Jorwe. The basic shapes, i.e., the carinated bowl and the spouted pots with flared mouth no doubt continue, but new shapes like a short spouted basin, convex-sided bowls, carinated bowls with outcurved beaded rim reminiscent of similar shape in Black-and-Red of the Megalithic tradition, high necked jars occur but there is a complete absence of dishes (Plate: 7b).

Besides these, the Coarse Red and Grey Wares with basins, bowls and lids also occur. In handmade ware, mostly storage jars with applique and incised decorations are evidenced.

However, the most significant ceramic is the Black-and-Red with highly burnished surfaces. In shapes and surface treatment this is akin to the Megalithic Black-and-Red showing the contact between the Megalithic and the Jorwe Chalcolithic.

As in Early Jorwe, in Late Jorwe also a circular potter's kiln has been found at Ināmgaon. However, it is smaller than

that of Early Jorwe. It is a circular shallow pit dug into the ground and was found covered with ash and numerous potsherds of Late Jorwe fabric. This attests to the fact that pottery for use of the settlement was locally made, and also that this area, where the kiln was located, was occupied by the pottery-makers or potters.

*The Economy*

As in the earlier phase, in Late Jorwe also, the economy was based on farming and hunting. A number of mace heads or ring-stones were found. These were mounted on wooden shaft and were utilised in turning soil which was afterwards sown. Charred grains of lentil, wheat, rice and *jowār* have been recovered from the levels of this phase. This food was supplemented by animal flesh as evidenced by the recovery of deer bones in several houses. Fish was also eaten as attested by copper fish-hooks.

*The Blade Industry*

As with Malwa and Early Jorwe, the people of the Late Jorwe Culture also used blades, lunates, serrated blades etc., made mostly of chalcedony and agate which are found in abundant measure in the veins in the Deccan trap basalts. Generally, these blades are small in size and were used possibly for cutting purposes.

Besides the blades of chalcedony, polished stone axes were also in use. It is held that these axes were ground and polished in saddle querns.

*Copper Tools*

Copper was found in small quantity, the repertoire consisting of axes, chisels, pair of tongs and fishhooks.

*Fauna*

Besides the bones of deer and cattle, the fauna known to Late Jorwe people is indicated by the terracotta figurines and paintings on pottery. The deer and the dog is painted on Jorwe

pottery, but in terracotta, bulls, boar, horse and possibly an owl are also reported.

*The Burials*

As in Early Jorwe, in Late Jorwe also the same method of the disposal of the dead continued. The children were buried in urns by digging a pit in the floor of the house In a few cases, a single urn is also found to have been used. However, in case of adults, ovalish pits were dug and the adult were completely inhumated. A lot of pots were found to have been kept as funerary accompaniment for the dead (Plate: 9a).

*The end of Jorwe Culture*

Around the 7-8th centuries B.C., the Jorwe Culture seems to have died out, possibly throughout Maharashtra. The reasons for this cannot precisely be stated. However, it is argued that a large scale famine which is even now the case in certain parts of the Deccan contributed to the uprooting of a settled life. The irrigational facilities of Early Jorwe seem to have gone out of use in Late Jorwe contributing to the loss in agricultural economy which, even now in the region, is dependant on the monsoons.

The other possible reason, though essentially a guess work, is that possibly the iron using communities of the early centuries of the first millenium prior to the Christian era might have disrupted the small clusters of farming communities of Jorwe Culture. The Megalithic pottery associated with the upper levels of Jorwe Culture is significant in this regard.

The swift horse-riding Megalithians also could not bring in peace and prosperity. For prosperity and urbanisation, the Deccan had to wait till the founding of the empires in the early historic period.

# III

# THE MEGALITHIC CULTURE

As has been referred to earlier, by about the 7th-8th century B.C., the evidence of Megalithic-chalcolithic contact has been available in the excavations at Songaon and Ināmgaon. Evidence of the Megalithic has also been independantly available at Ranjālā n Dhulia District of northern Deccan as also at Pimpalsuti near Ināmgaon in Poona District. Much earlier to this, in the forties of this century, Megalithic remains were noted nearby Poona at Bhosarī.

However, the north eastern region of Maharashtra, designated as Vidarbha, has been well known for the existence, on a very large scale, of the Megalithic monuments, more or less exclusively of the Stone Circle type, save the couple of dolmens in the district of Bhandārā. The largest concentration of stone circles is at Junāpānī near Nagpur, and though the districts of Bhandara, Nagpur and Chanda have the maximum number, the western districts of Vidarbha like Wardhā and Amarāvatī and the southern district of Yeotmāl have also reported sporadic remains of the stone circles.

It has already been mentioned in the first part that work on the Vidarbha Megalith was started fairly early by scholars like Rivett-Carnac, Hunter and others. However, this work was sporadic and far between, with the result that the mystery of the Megaliths remained unsolved. In general also, it may be observed that inspite of thousands of Megalithic monuments being available for investigation, not much work has been done systematically to understand this culture in its various aspects.

However, during the last one and a half decade a number of sites like Junāpāni, Ṭākalghāṭ, Khāpā, Gangāpūr, Māhurjharī, Nayākuṇḍ and Borgaon as also Kauṇḍinyapura, Paunār and

Arṇī have been excavated, which have not only given reasonably good data in respect of the material culture of these people but they have also provided a few C-14 dates which has helped to assign a time-bracket to the Megalithic Culture of Vidarbha region. Instead of presenting the data sitewise and incurring repetitions, it would be proper to state the data as a whole on the different aspects of the life of the Magalithic people. Before doing that, however, it may be stated that whereas Junāpānī, Māhurjharī, Khāpā, and Borgaon have given evidence of the burials, the sites of Ṭākalghāṭ and Nayākuṇḍ have evidenced the habitational remains. Sites like Paunār, Kauṇḍinyapura and Arṇī have attested to the first habitations here being those of the Megalithic people. Amongst all the above, however, the site of Nayākuṇḍ, 42 kms. North by North—east of Nagpur, has been most rewarding, as it has given evidence of habitations, burials as well as smelting of iron (Plate: 15b).

Before going into the details of the material equipment etc., it may be stated that a series of C-14 dates have helped in assigning the Megaliths and the habitations between 7th and 5th century B.C. The dates for the mid-levels of Megalithic habitations at Ṭākalghāṭ are 615 ± 105 B.C., and 465 ± 90 B.C. at Nayākuṇḍ. It would, therefore, not be wrong to assign the initial habitation at Ṭākalghāṭ to the middle of 7th and begining of 8th century B.C., taking into consideration the fact that below the horizon giving the date of 615 B.C. at Ṭākalghāṭ, was a habitational deposit of about a metre.

*The Houses*

Ṭākalghāṭ and Nayākuṇḍ have given evidence of the houses of the Megalithic people. Whereas at Tākalghāṭ, the houses were rectangular in shape with walls made of clay impregnated with bamboo screen and with floors made of black clay rammed hard and plastered with lime, the houses at Nayākuṇḍ were in the form of a circular hut with a diameter of 2 metres and with circular wooden posts all around. Thus, whereas the houses at Ṭākalghāt might be having a flat or tapering roof, the circular huts of Nayākuṇḍ should be having a conical roof.

The floor of this circular hut was made of brownish clay plastered thick with lime. Inside the hut was a semi-circular hearth of clay. Similar hearth or *chulāh* was found in the rectangular house at Ṭākalghāṭ. The other equipments in the house common to Ṭākalghāṭ and Nayākuṇḍ were stone querns and beautifully made pounders with squarish hold and bulbous round or squarish body with a flat working end.

*The Pottery*

The ceramic fabrics associated with the burials and the habitations as at Nayākuṇḍ as well as Ṭākalghāṭ were four, to wit; (i) the black-and-red (ii) the micaceous red (iii) the painted black on red and (iv) the burnished black. However. there is a noteworthy feature which may be mentioned here, The burials have a maximum amount of the micaceous ware and the minimum of the painted ware. But the Black-and-Red is equal in amount so far as the habitations and burials are concerned.

The shapes associated with the Black-and-Red are bowls with connoidal bottom, rimles bowls, lids with tapering sides and a conical finial and bowls with flat base flaring sides and clubbed out rims. In the black burnished are squat hour-glass like stands, dishes, rimless bowls and very outstanding conical lids capped by motifs like a ram, buds or four birds, reminiscent of such motifs from Ādichchanallūr in the south. These motifs are beautifully executed which give the lids a distinctness of their own. The micaceous red shows dominantly two shapes, a pot with globular body, constricted neck and flared out or funnel shaped mouth, and a dough with flat base and raised periphery. This pottery is very brittle because of the clay containing large flakes of mica affecting the plasticity and molecular homogeneity of clay. In a few cases, the micaceous red also bears painting in black externally. The painting, however, is restricted to parallel, horizontal or vertical, lines and rarely meshed diamonds. The painted black on red is much less in number both in the habitation as well as in the burials. It was first noticed in the stone circles excavated at Junāpānī by the Archaeological Survey

of India. Its occurrence was confirmed at Khāpā, Ṭākalghāṭ, Māhurjharī and Nayākuṇḍ. There are very few shapes in the painted ware, the most frequent being globular pots of medium size. The painting, on somewhat Indian red slip, is essentially simple and geometrical, comprising of groups of parallel lines, latticed diamonds and triangles (Plate: 16b). It may be stated that apparently it appears to show no affinity with the Chalcolithic Jorwe Ware of western Deccan. It may further be stated that similar painted ware was also recovered at Paunār I and Kauṇḍinyapura I, even though no Megalithic burials are reported nearby these sites.

*The Technology*

Both the habitations and the burials at Ṭākalghāṭ, Khāpā and Nayākuṇḍ as also the burials at Junāpānī, Māhurjharī and Borgaon gave abundant evidence of the use of iron, copper and gold by the Megalithic people. A host of objects of these three metals were buried with the dead.

It may be noted that the objects of these three metals were found in a well-preserved state. The soil analysis has shown that the alkalies in the soil have contributed to the preservation of the metal objects.

That at some places iron was locally smelted, has been evidenced at least at Nayākuṇḍ where the remains of a kiln used for iron-smelting have been found (Plate: 17a). The kiln is circular on plan, built of rectangular but curved bricks which show devitrification internally because of constant contact with fire. At one side of the kiln was found to have been fixed a clay tubular piece, obviously to connect it with the windpipe of the bellows. Nearby it were found quantities of iron ore and slag (Plate: 17b) and fragments of flat iron axes with iron ring-fasteners. This workshop with the kiln for smelting iron was about 40 metres from the excavated trenches giving evidence of habitations.

The analyses of iron artifacts from Ṭākalghāṭ, Nayākuṇḍ, etc., has shown that it contained as much as 98 to 99% of

iron and they thus could be categorised as steel. It is also significant to note that the area of Vidarbha having the Megalithic burials is at present well known for deposits of iron ore, mica and manganese. These must have been utilised by the Megalithic people who habitated this region in the first half of the first millenium B.C.

Copper was also extensively used by the Megalithic people and it is attested to by the find of scores of bangles, dishes, lids with bird and other motifs (Plates: 12b, 13a) capping these, as also daggers with copper hilt and iron blades (Plate: 13b) and ornaments for the horse. The bangles are beaten out of copper rods, and the open or overlapping ends of these show file marks (Plate: 14b). Some bangles also contain incised chevron decorations. The dishes show that they were prepared out of thin sheets of copper. Cups of copper had side-handles of copper rivetted to them, whereas the conical lids had rivetted to them solid figures of birds in groups of four. The most noteworthy objects indicative of the mastery of the Megalithic craftsmen in metallurgy is the dagger with iron blade and solid copper hilt covering the tang of the blade. Yet another object is the ornament for the face of the horse (Plate: 14a). This is made of copper sheet cut to the shape of the forehead and face of the horse. Over this were decorative conical knobs of copper kept in position over the sheet with iron pins rivetted on the reverse face of the sheet. The whole ornament was mounted possibly on leather base, as the perforations all along the periphery of the ornamental sheet shows. Mounting the ornament on leather and then placing it on the face of the horse would not hurt it. Similarly bells of copper with iron tongues and ornaments for the flanks of the horse were also executed. This shows that the Megalithic artisans were adept in handling both iron and copper.

These artisans were also skilful in the execution of gold ornaments and beads of semi-precious stones. The gold ornaments like cabled bands of a necklace, an ear-ornament, a pendant with repoussê design, a torque with interlocked ends and spirals

of gold as recovered in the Megaliths at Māhurjharī display high skill (Plate: 15a). These are of pure gold and hence not tough enough. But it is a matter of highly developed technology to take out a thin wire of gold as thin as one millimetre.

Similar is the case of beads of semi-precious stones like carnelian, crystal and agate, which have been recovered in scores at Māhurjharī. Some of the carnelian beads are etched in white design over red surface and the designs are precise. The scores of crystal beads of globular shape are highly polished, and evidence the skill of the Megalithic artisan.

*Economy*

While the peninsular Megaliths have given evidence of rice and horse-gram the floatation technique used in respect of the habitational deposits at Nayākuṇḍ has brought out evidence of barley, rice, wheat and gram which were obviously used in daily food. The find of agricultural tools like the hoe and the plough-share as also of saddle querns, and exquisitely made pounders indicate the nature of agricultural economy and nature of food habits of the Vidarbha Megalithic people.

Vegetarian food of course was supplemented by animal flesh as the habitational deposits both at Ṭākalghāṭ and Nayākuṇḍ gave bones of cattle, sheep, goat, deer, pig and horse.

*Tools and Weapons*

The Megalithic people used quite a range of tools and weapons of iron. These comprised swords, daggers, lances and spikes; agricultural tools like hoes and ploughshares; carpentry tools like chisels of various types, adzes and flat rectangular axes with cross ribbon fasteners of iron strips; objects of kitchen use like knives, frying pans, cauldrons and ladles with straight and long handle and objects of toilet like nailparers with cabled body.

Most remarkable is the range of chisels with tangs which were accommodated in wooden handles. The working ends of these were varied, and with different width and nature of the

working end. It appears that these were used for shaving wood as well as for executing sockets of different shape in wood. The very quantity and variety evidences the use of these on a large scale for woodwork. It has already been stated that wooden posts were employed in the construction of houses. It could as well be that these people were also preparing wooden furniture for everyday use, which, however, appears to have perished with the passage of time.

*The Burials*

It is for their elaborate burials that the Megalithic people and their culture are known. Even though quite a variety of Megalithic burials has been known from peninsular India—the latest being the passage or chamber tombs of Karnatak—, the Vidarbha region has so far evidenced only two types: stone circles with cairn filling and the dolmens. However the latter, i.e., the dolmens, are known only from a single site of Pimpalgaon in the Bhandara district, the stone circles have a very wide occurrence inasmuch as, they occur very extensively in the four eastern districts of Vidarbha.

The excavations of a number of stone circles at Khāpā, Gangāpūr, Nayākuṇḍ, Māhurjharī, Junāpānī and Borgaon have yielded evidence of skeletal remains, very few of which, however, are found in proper condition as the load of the capping material above is crushing. However, it has been found that the orientation of the dead was not necessarily north-south, but in several cases north east - south west and east west as well. Moreover, one stone circle was not restricted to the interment of only one dead. At Māhurjharī, there were stone circles containing two as well as four skeletons. Some stone circles were devoid of any skeletal remains and could have been symbolic constructions.

Cases are also on record, as at Māhurjharī, where twin burials, or burials of two persons together, were evidenced. Similarly, whereas some dead were found to have been kept

right on the rock surface, some were interred in an oval pit within the circle, and still others on a bedding of iron artifacts. In almost all the cases the dead were kept full length intact (Plate: 12a), whereas in one case the legs below the knee portion of the dead were missing, but over his chest was kept a dagger with iron blade and copper hilt. It could be that the person had died in a battle or a skirmish and had lost his legs, and therefore he was honourably buried with his dagger.

Invariably, along with the dead was buried the horse with all its copper-sheet ornaments and bits made of iron. Horse bones were found in every stone circle so far excavated in the region. In one, at Māhurjharī again was found the skeleton of the horse with its mouth having the iron bit inside. It is quite likely that a fully caparisoned horse was buried alive, or sacrificed and buried, with the dead.

It is as yet not possible to be precise regarding the racial traits of the skeletons buried. While all were adults, their ethnic traits are yet under study. It may be noted here that no child burials were encountered so far in any of the stone circles. Does it mean that the children were disposed of in a different manner, or that we have yet to find the evidence for this? Prof. A. Kennedy who has studied the Māhujharī skeletons is inclined to assign them to the local tribals residing in the Bastar region and those occupying the Bhandara-Chanda area like the Goṇḍs.

*Ethno-archaeology*

It is interesting to note here a persistent tradition in circulation in the Vidarbha region that the stone circles are places where the horse and the dead body of the Lamāṇa, tribal chief have been interred. Why these Megaliths are associated with the Lamāṇa, a nomadic tribe, is not easy to explain. However, it may be stated here that the Lamāṇas, even now, seasonally migrate from Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, eastern Vidarbha and descend in Andhra Pradesh. The horse is their inalienable companion and all sorts of luggage are loaded

over the horse including cages for hens. It is a sight to see the horse sluggishly walking with the varied luggage on its back and a small child balancing itself between the loads. These people even now use a large amount of shell bangles, beads of glass, ornaments of silver and gold and migrate hundreds of miles camping for a few days in between. It is, therefore, necessary to study the life pattern, equipment and burial practices of these people.

*Resumé*

The foregoing details as available from the excavated data in the Vidarbha region brings out the rich material culture these people of the 6th—7th century B.C. had, of their own. One can as well make another observation: That these people could afford to erect circles of huge boulders—some circles having a diameter of 23 metres—and fill it with earth and pebbles indicates some sort of a community effort in the make-up of the burials. That they could afford to bury with the dead a number of objects shows, that they had a perenial supply of the raw material, or of the objects, or that a group of artisans in the Megalithic community was engaged whole time in producing these objects which catered to the needs of the dead as well as the living. There is no doubt that the Megalithic people were the harbingers of Iron Age in the Deccan.

IV

# EPILOGUE

We have tried to describe the data pertaining to the Chalcolithic and the Megalithic Cultures of the Deccan in the foregoing pages. Even though it has certainly added to our knowledge of the Protohistoric or Prehistoric Cultures, some aspects of these remain unanswered. It has also raised some new problems which require the attention and efforts of archaeologists in the near future. It would, therefore, be proper to plan archaeological investigations with a view to understand the following problems.

They may be stated precisely as follows:

(i) What is the genesis of Malwa Culture?

(ii) What is the relation of Malwa Culture with Jorwe?

(iii) What is the burial pattern associated with Malwa Culture?

(iv) What could be the causes of the disappearance of Jorwe Culture?

(v) What is the nature of contact between the Jorwe Culture and the Megalithic Culture?

(vi) What is the chronological span of Megalithic Culture in North eastern Deccan and when, how and whether it has moved towards western Deccan?

(vii) What is the settlement pattern of the Megalithic people?

(viii) What is the source of raw metal and the nature of technology of the Megalithians?

(ix) What is the relationship, if at all, between the Megalithic and early historic iron-using Cultures?

For raising these questions, I may be excused. I have ventured to pose these to the distinguished archaeologists and researchers with the fond hope that in years to come we shall all try to address our energies to the solution of these problems.

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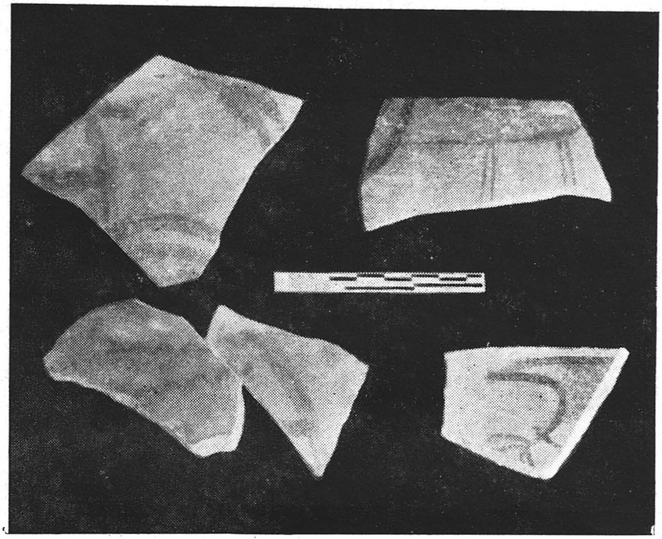
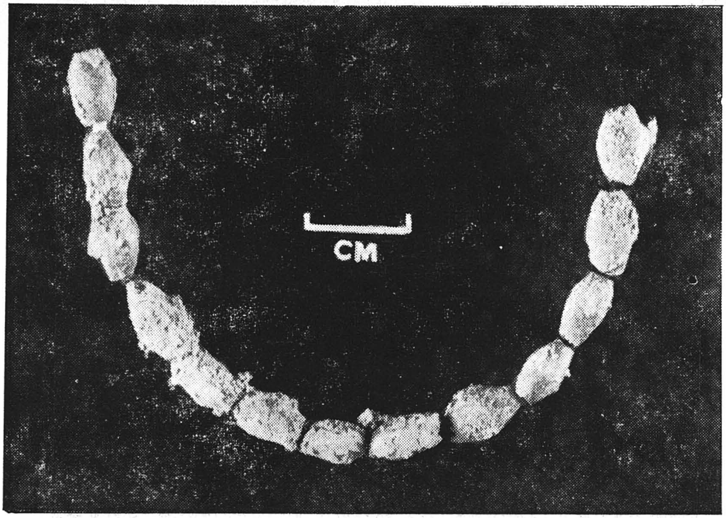


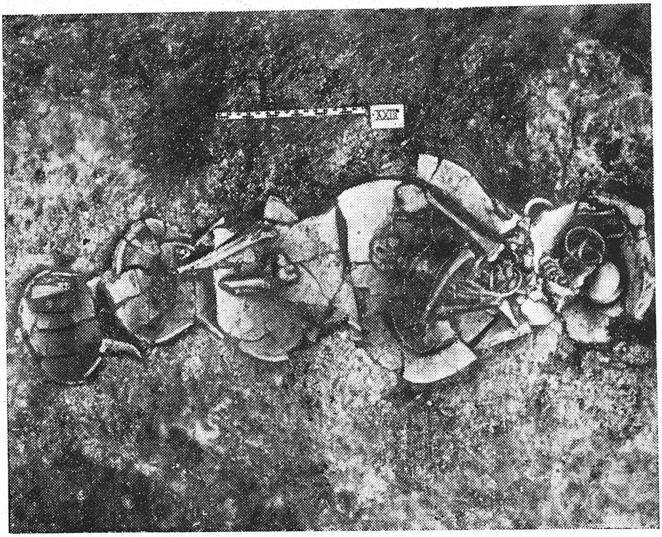
a Jorwe pottery with painted animal motifs, Nevasa.

b. Triple jar burial, Nevasa.

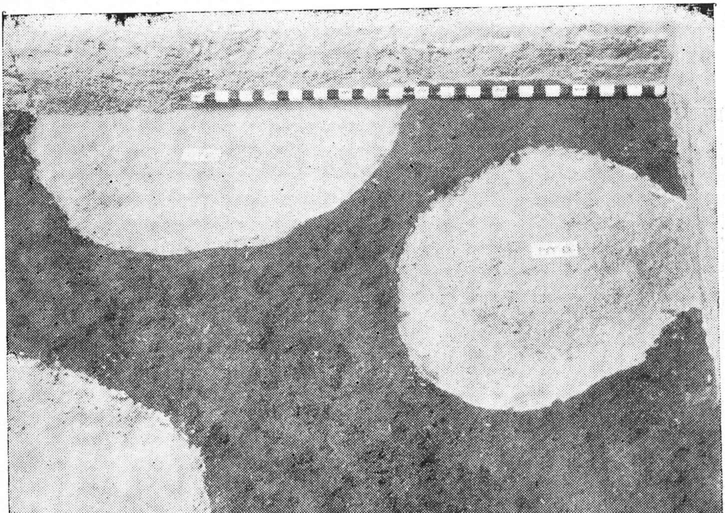



a. Necklace of beads strung in silk thread, Nevasa.

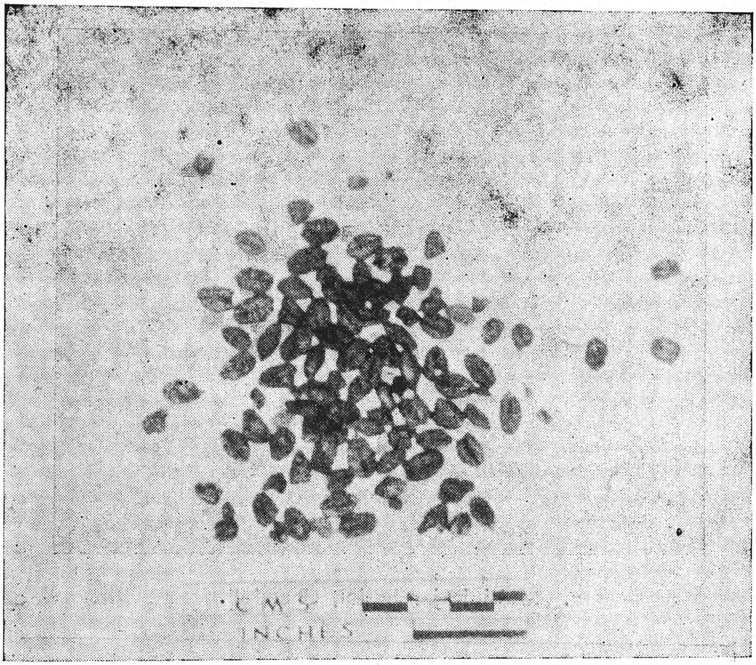
b. Copper celt, Nevasa.



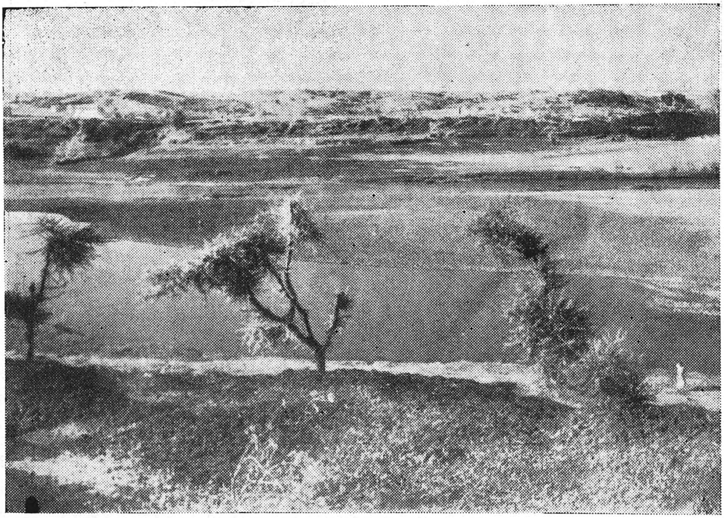
a. Multiple jar burial, Chandoli.



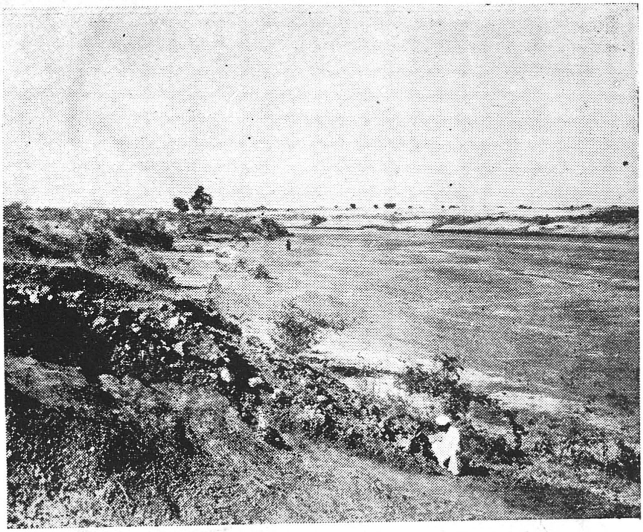
b. Circular pits, Songaon.



a. Charred wheat, Songaon.



b. Habitational mounds, Inamgaon.

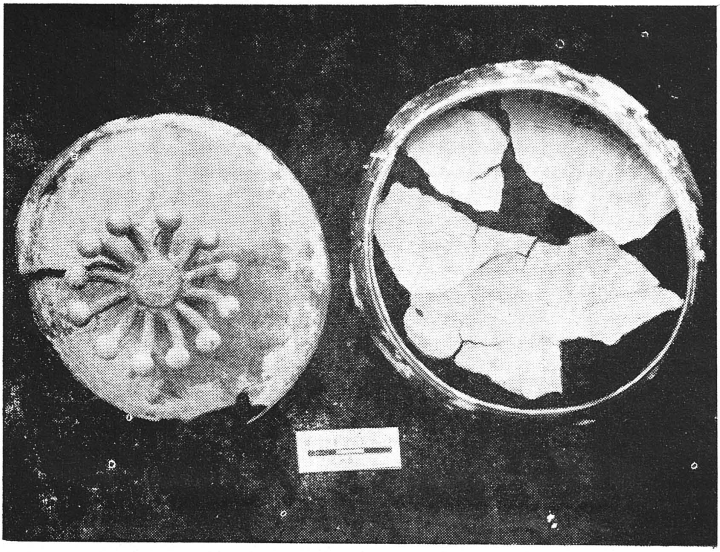


a. Jetty leading to river Ghoḍ, Inamgaon.

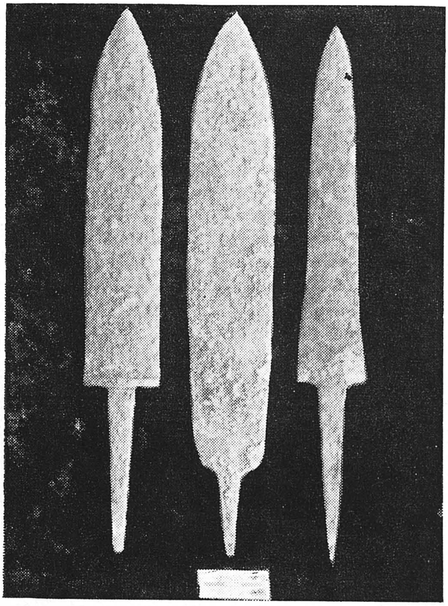
b. Incised motif of a bullock-cart on Jorwe sherd, Inamgaon.

a. Furnace for iron-smelting, Nayakund.

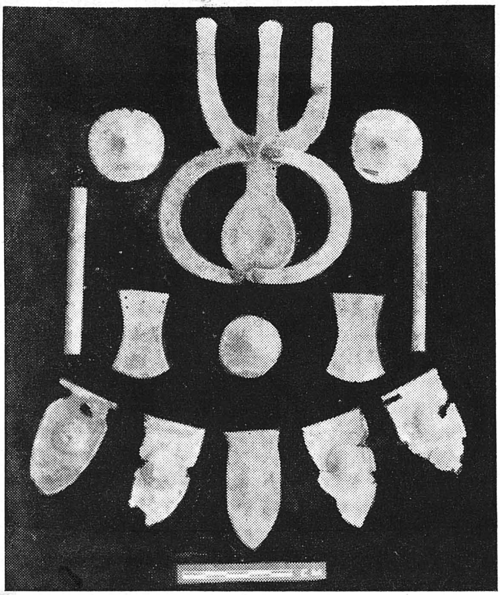
b. Copper dish with bird-lid, Mahurjhari.



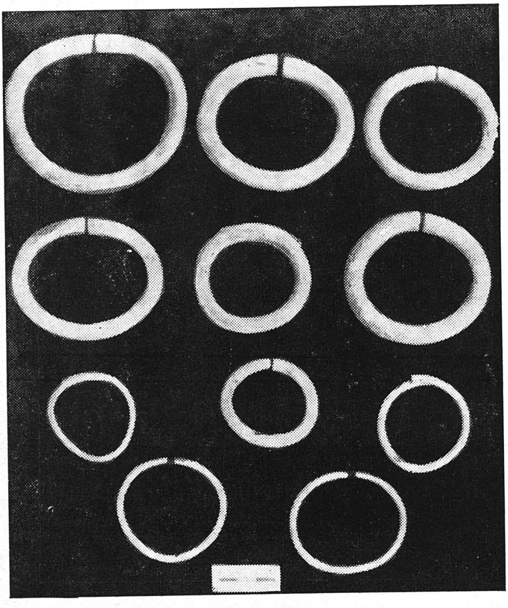
a. Copper dish with bud-lid, Mahurjhari.



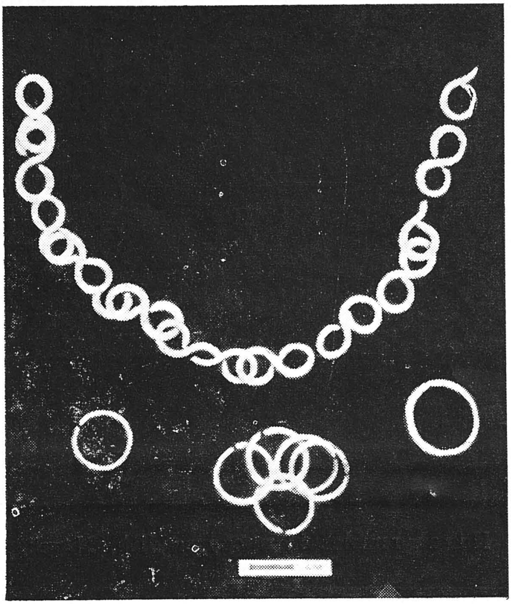
b. Spearheads, Mahurjhari.



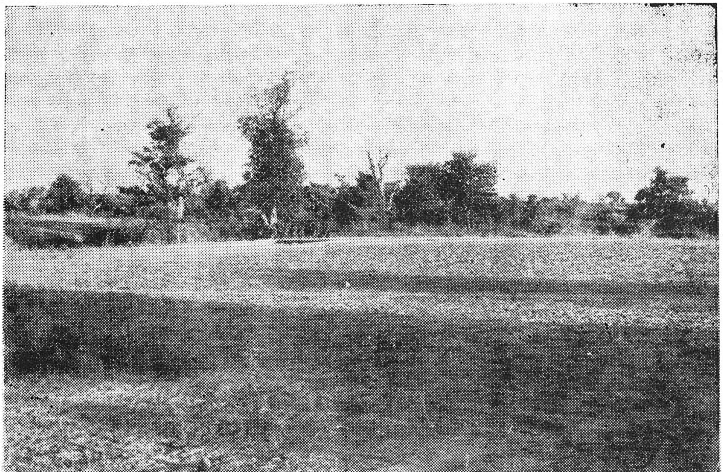
a. Horse ornament of copper, Mahurjhari.



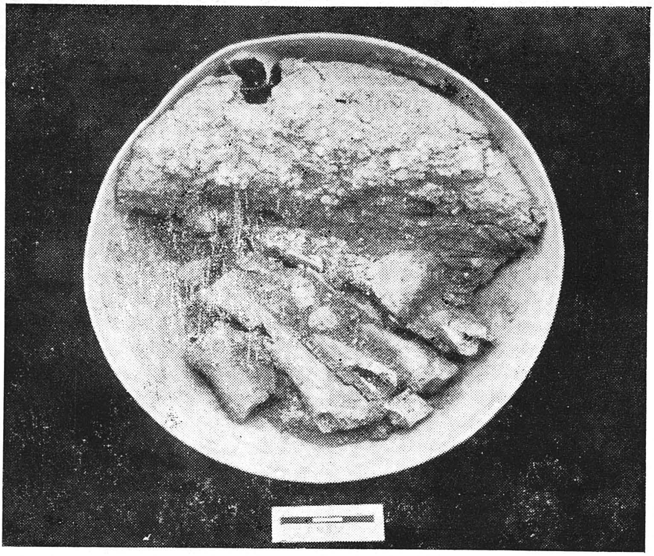
b. Copper bangles, Mahurjhari.



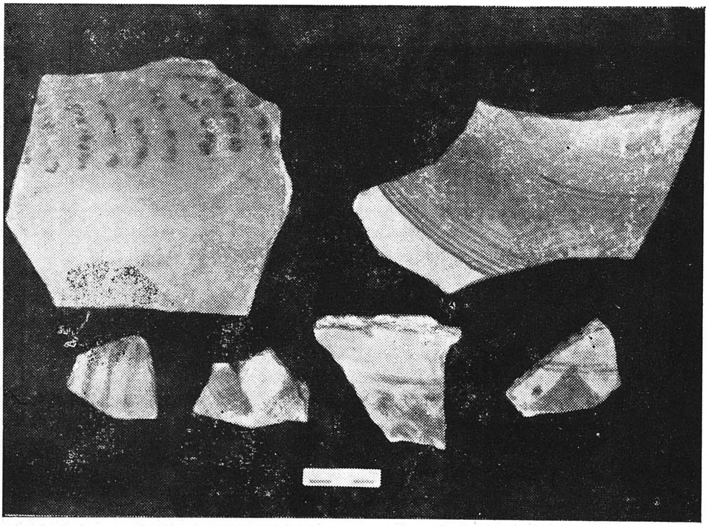
a. Gold ornament, Mahurjhari.



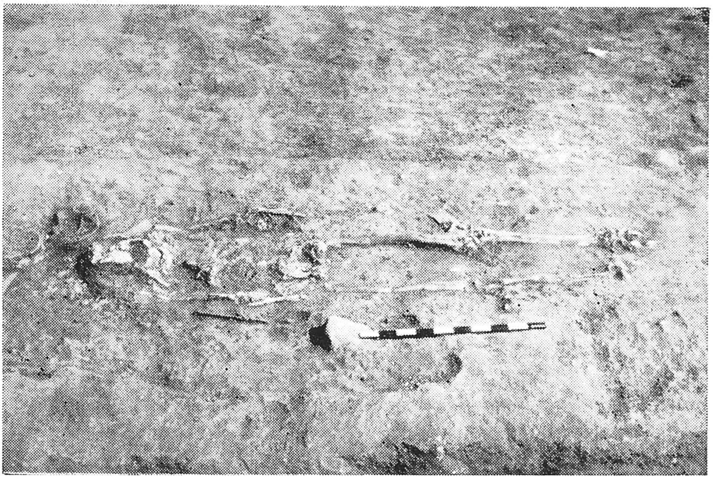
b. Megalithic habitation site, Nayakund.



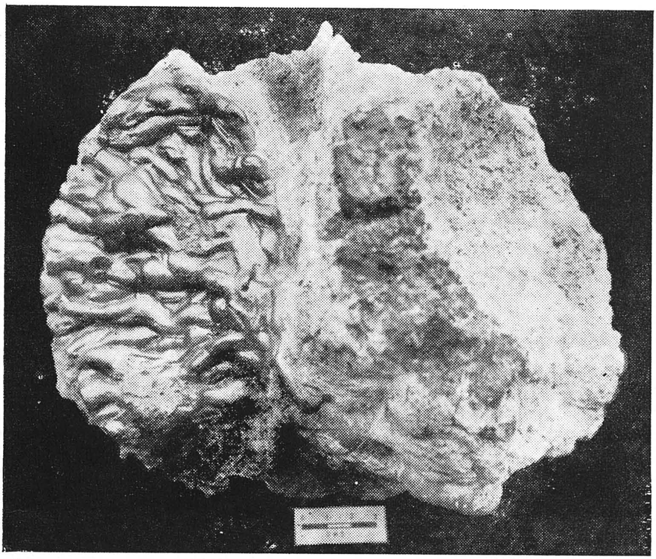
a. Human remains in a copper dish, Nayakund.



b. Painted pottery, Nayakund.



a. Skeletal remains : Megalithic, Mahurjhari.



b. Iron waste in furnance, Nayakund.

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